

Hezbollah: A Charitable Revolution

**A Monograph
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Abstract

PREPARING A SAMS MONOGRAPH by Major James B. Love, U.S. Army, 53 pages.

The militant Lebanese Shia Group Hezbollah (Party of God) has evolved into the largest and most professional terrorist groups in the Middle East. The political wing has been successful at placing several representatives in the Lebanese Parliament while the military wing has been training, recruiting, fighting and conducting terrorist attacks within the Levant and globally against U.S., Israeli and European interests. Since 2000, the popularity of the organization has continued to grow throughout southern Lebanon and Beirut since the evacuation of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon and its recent victory in the 2006 war with Israel. Though seldom discussed, a major factor in Hezbollah's success is the use of the social services section.

Hezbollah's social service program is vital to the success and survival of the organization. This monograph examine the history of Lebanon and the evolution of Hezbollah, the organizational structure, funding sources and methods and social service achievements will provide a systemic understanding of how the organization morphed from a resistance movement into a state-less government that meets the needs of the Lebanese Shia population. The analysis includes aspects of the organization's structure, funding sources and methods and its achievements in providing social services. This monograph addresses how Hezbollah's social service model, by which it gained popular support and became a significant bloc in Lebanon's legislature, may be emulated by other Islamists organizations in obtaining political legitimacy.

Hezbollah's success has not gone unnoticed by the global jihadist/insurgent community. Hezbollah has proven to be adaptive and flexible in their strategy but have maintained a consistent strategic view. Though Hezbollah is apparently not attempting to export the Islamic revolution, the organization has inspired Islamic minded groups like Turkish Hezbollah, who have adopted the name but have no affiliation with Lebanese Hezbollah. Turkish Hezbollah is predominantly Kurdish and is fighting to establish an Islamic government within Turkey.

Hezbollah has cells in Africa, Latin America, North America, Europe and Asia. Most are focused on fund raising but others, like the cell in Argentina that attacked the Israeli embassy, are designed to conduct terrorist attacks against U.S. and Israeli interests. Fledgling Hezbollah cells use the same methods used in Lebanon: they use subtle infiltration techniques to gain access to an area without drawing attention, they gain the trust of the populace by conducting charity fund raising activities, establishing trust enables them to recruit within the local populace and then allowing the cell to begin operations. Cells would not be able to operate without building a popular support base.

Hezbollah's social service heavy model has proven to be successful in advancing the party's political/military goals and Iran's strategic objectives. Hezbollah established a solid popular support base by leveraging the needs and injustices of the Lebanese Shia. The popular support base enabled the organization to transform from its social service dominated roots to an influential political party supported by a professional guerilla army. Hezbollah was created in the image of the Iranian Islamic revolution and has inculcated Iranian Islamist ideology that calls for the destruction of Israel and exporting the revolution globally. It can be argued that the Hezbollah model cannot be exported due to the unique circumstances that the organization was created and cannot be replicated. However, the basic tenants of the model are universal and are reflected in modern insurgency theorists like Mao Tse-Tung, Che Guevara and David Galula. They all follow a similar pattern that weighs the support of the populace the highest followed by guerrilla warfare and ending in political revolution. The danger is that the Hezbollah model is unique, proven and exportable.

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Introduction

“Feed those who need it, but do so especially when or where the sources of sustenance, physical, moral or spiritual are cut off” Quran, v.6141

The militant Lebanese Shia Group Hezbollah (Party of God) has evolved into the largest and most professional terrorist groups in the Middle East. Since its inception in the early 1980s, the political wing has been successful at placing several representatives in the Lebanese Parliament while the military wing has been training, recruiting, fighting and conducting terrorist attacks within the Levant and globally against U.S., Israeli and European interests. The popularity of the organization has continued to grow throughout southern Lebanon and Beirut since the 2000 evacuation of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon and it received additional credibility as a paramilitary force during its recent victory in the 2006 war with Israel. Though seldom discussed, a major factor in Hezbollah’s success has been the use of charity or the social

services section. It's important to note that the act of charity or Zakat, a pillar if Islam, is a duty mandated by god to address the comprehensive needs of the less fortunate.¹ The act of Zakat and the western construct of “social services” are often used synonymously to describe charitable acts, public services and infrastructure development. Zakat is a religious duty and social services are a function of governance. For the purpose of this monograph, the terms will be used synonymously. Hezbollah’s overwhelming success can be attributed to its use of social services. This monograph examines Lebanese history, the evolution of Hezbollah, Hezbollah’s organizational structure, funding sources, and social service achievements to provide a systemic understanding of how the organization morphed from a resistance movement into a state-less government that leverages charity to meet the needs of the neglected, oppressed and marginalized Lebanese Shia population to maintain popular support. This monograph also addresses how

¹ Abdullah Yusuf Ali and Riasat Idarat al-Buhuth al-`Ilmiyah wa-al-Ifta wa-al-Da`wah wa-al-Irshad (Saudi Arabia), *The Holy Qur-an : English Translation of the Meanings, and Commentary* (Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah: King Fahd Holy Qur-an Print. Complex, 1989-1990), 2082. , Taubah 60.

Hezbollah's social service model or charity distribution may be emulated by other Islamists organizations.

Hezbollah enjoys the support of both Syria and Iran. This is unique relationship in that while both countries share the successes of Hezbollah, they have different strategic interests that cause the nature of the relationship to change. To understand the role of the social service effort and its critical role in Hezbollah's organizational model, it's important to understand the interests, strategic goals and relationships of the stakeholders and those of Hezbollah. In 2004, Hezbollah's deputy secretary general, Shaykh Naim Qassem categorized the organization's vision into the three pillars of Hezbollah: Islam as a model for governance, the obligation of Jihad and the jurisdiction of the jurist theologian or Al-Wali al-Faqih.² Hezbollah continues to believe that

² Na'im Qasim and Dalia Khalil, *Hizbullah : The Story from within* (London: Saqi, 2005), 284. , 21-58.

Islam is a comprehensive, appropriate and ideologically sound method for the organization.³

Islam provides guidance on all aspects of governance, war and personal life. The second pillar, jihad, was justified by the 1982 Israeli invasion and occupation. According to Qassem, resisting the occupation in defense of Lebanon and the Shia population is Hezbollah's priority and that all organization's resources should support this effort.⁴ The third pillar of Hezbollah's vision is the recognition of the jurisdiction of the al-Wali al-Faqih, the god appointed spiritual guide and legitimately constituted authority in Islamic governance.⁵ This concept originated with Ayatollah Khomeini's interpretation of a quote from the twelfth imam, "as for the events that may occur, refer to the transmitters of our sayings..." which he interpreted as a mandate ordained by god to

³ Ibid., 19.

⁴ Ibid., 19.

⁵ Joseph Elie Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology : Religious Ideology, Political Ideology and Political Program* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 357. , 81.

rule.⁶ Hezbollah's primary goals emerged from the intent of the three pillars vision. The organization's strategic goals are the establishment of the Islamic State of Lebanon, the destruction of Israel, and export of the Islamic revolution.⁷ How the vision and goals contributed to the development and configuration of the organization will be discussed in a later chapter.

Iran can be credited with the creation and subsequent successes of Hezbollah. The organization has been heavily influenced by Ayatollah Khomeini's revolutionary ideology and receives substantial monetary and material support.⁸ Iran and Lebanon have historical connections that date back to the early 1500s but Iran's interests in Hezbollah originated after the

⁶ Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbullah : Politics and Religion* (London ; Sterling, Va: Pluto Press, 2002), 254. ,60.

⁷ Catherine Williams, *Interview with National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC) Levant Analyst*, 2008)

⁸ "Hezbollah as the Strategic Arm of Iran," [cited 2008]. Available from <http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/site/html/search.asp?sid=13&pid=167&numResults=23&paging=yes&isSearch=yes&isT8=yes>. 6, 25.

success of the Iranian revolution and the establishment of the Islamic State of Iran in 1982.⁹ Iran saw an opportunity and was required to assist the oppressed Shia population in the Israeli occupied territory and an opportunity to export the Islamic revolution.¹⁰ Both conditions reflect Iran's five strategic goals in respect to Hezbollah and the Levant area. Iran viewed Hezbollah as a vehicle and model to export the revolution to the Levant and ultimately to the rest of the Arab world. The Hezbollah strongholds in southern Lebanon are strategically located to attack, harass and terrorize Israel allowing Hezbollah to fight a proxy war with Iran's sworn enemy. The threat of facing terror or conventional attacks from Hezbollah serves as a strategic deterrence against potential threats from the United States and Israel which gives Iran a strategic foothold in the prosperous, contested Levant region without having to commit regular forces or spend political

⁹ H. E. Chehabi, Rula Jurdi Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years* (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I.B. Tauris & Co, 2006), 322. , 3.

¹⁰ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), *Hezbollah as the Strategic Arm of Iran*, 11.

capital. Hezbollah also assists Iran by serving as liaison between Iran and other Arab and Muslim militant groups. Based on Iran's strategic goals, Hezbollah appears to be the perfect agent for supporting Iranian interests.

Syria's strategic interests and proximity to Lebanon make it a stakeholder in the future of Lebanon. Syria's primary interest, from Lebanese independence in 1943 to Syrian intervention in Lebanon in 1976, was security.¹¹ Historically, Lebanon, because of its tradition of political freedoms, has served as a center of subversion and conspiracy against Syrian regimes.¹² Though Syria and Lebanon have a relationship that pre-dates to their independence in 1943, Syrian involvement in Lebanon both in governance and support of Hezbollah has been constant since the

¹¹ R. Avi-Ran, *The Syrian Involvement in Lebanon since 1975* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 6.

¹² Ibid., 7.

Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon in 1982 and the subsequent creation of the organization.¹³

Syria has acted as a conduit for weapons, material, funds, men, and training.¹⁴ Initially, the former president of Syria, Hafez Al Assad, viewed Hezbollah as a simple pawn used to fight Israel but in 2000 the organization was elevated to the status of “strategic partner” by his successor, Basher Assad.¹⁵ This increased Hezbollah’s funding, access to weapons and training. This relationship allowed Syria, through Hezbollah, to maintain the alliance with Iran, maintain the ability to strike indirectly at Israel and the United States, maintain influence in Lebanon, and indirectly support radical Islamic forces in the Palestinian Authority.¹⁶

¹³ Fawwaz Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (London ; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto, 2007), 306. , 106-107.

¹⁴ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), "Syria as a Strategic Prop for Hezbollah and Hamas," (2006), 4.

¹⁵ Ibid., 3.

¹⁶ Augustus R. Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 187. , 35.

Lebanese History and the Creation of Hezbollah

The intent of this chapter is to highlight the significant events that shaped the country and created the political and social conditions that acted as a catalyst for Hezbollah's creation and its ability to leverage its social service section. The origins and importance of Hezbollah's social service section can be traced back to the creation of Lebanon, the fault lines created by occupying powers, the creation of the state of Israel, repeated oppression of the Lebanese Shia population and the nature of Lebanon's geography.

Lebanon's Complicated Geography

Lebanon is a rugged country that is framed by the parallel north-south Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges and the Eleutherus River in the north.¹⁷ The Lebanon mountain range

¹⁷ Kamal S. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (New York: Praeger, 1965), xi

is close to Mediterranean coastal cities which leaves little room for large scale agricultural development in the west. The most suitable land for farming is the narrow swath of land between the two ranges, the Bekaa Valley, and the larger areas in the northwest close to Tripoli, Lebanon. The majority of the non-littoral population is relegated to subsistence farming. This is important because the Shia populations have historically occupied or have been forced onto the poorer, less productive areas of the country while the Druze, Maronite Christians and Sunnis occupy the more productive coastal and northern lands.¹⁸ Historically, the Shia population has been geographically disadvantaged.¹⁹ The complicated terrain and the historical ties to Syria

¹⁸ Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 1std ed. (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 196. , 13.

¹⁹ Tabitha Petran, *The Struggle Over Lebanon* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987), 431. , 23.

contributes to an emerging complex social dynamic that contributes to the sectarian tensions, the social inequalities and the ultimate creation of an organization that combats these inequalities.²⁰

The Ottoman Influence on Lebanon: Inter-Sectarian Cooperation

Lebanon by nature is an inter-sectarian state that understands the need for cooperation between the competing sects but inter-sectarianism can also lead to intense competition between the groups. There are nineteen different tribes and five major religious sects composed of the Maronite Christians, Greek Orthodox Christians, Greek Catholics, Shia Muslim, Sunni Muslim and Druze.²¹ The complex nature of sectarian differences and tribal culture prevented unification. In 1516, the Ottoman Empire captured Mount Lebanon, the land west of the Litani

²⁰ Robert M. Axelrod and Michael D. Cohen, *Harnessing Complexity : Organizational Implications of a Scientific Frontier* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 184. , 15.

²¹ Ahmad, Raf'at Seyyed Ahmad, "The Psychology of Victory in Light of Two Instances of Victory: Hezbollah's Victory on Lebanon and the Al-Aqsa Victory in Palestine," *Scientific-Professional Quarterly on Psychological Operations* 3, no. 11 (Winter 2006): 89. , 21. There are a total of nineteen religious sects but the five mentioned in the text are the most influential.

River to the coast, from the Egyptians. Many historians regard this as the emergence of the inter-sectarian traditions that are presently found in Lebanon.²² The Ottoman's ruled Mount Lebanon for 300 years before being driven out by the Egyptians. During those 300 years of relative peace, the concept of inter-sectarian competition and the acceptance of Shia oppression were engrained into Lebanese culture.²³ In the mid-1800's, the sectarian divisions were further deepened by the intervention of the British and the French who leveraged the divisions between the Muslims, Maronites and the Druze for their countries interests against the Ottoman Empire.²⁴ After a bloody sectarian war supported by British and French, the competing groups were relegated to designated enclaves where they enjoyed a period of relative peace and enlightenment. Beirut developed into a major center for maritime commerce for European colonial powers. The

²² Helena Cobban, *The Making of Modern Lebanon* (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1985), 248. , 35.

²³ Ibid., 35.

²⁴ Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, 153.

beginning of World War I would prove to fundamentally change Lebanon and create the conditions that would result in the creation of Lebanese Hezbollah.

European Influence: Imbalance of Power

On 1916, the division of Greater Lebanon, which includes the territory of modern day Syria, was done through the Sykes-Picot Agreement.²⁵ Lebanese land holdings were expanded by the French during the 1920 Conference of San Remo. This agreement created the borders of what is now modern Syria and extended Lebanese boundaries west past the Anti-Lebanese mountains.²⁶ The agreement added four new areas: coastal cities, the Akkar Plain, the Bekaa

²⁵ Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 306. , 75-76. This agreement divided the Arab regions of the Ottoman empire into two broadly defined British and French zones that allowed both powers to exercise control of the seas and the mainland.

²⁶ Cobban, *The Making of Modern Lebanon*, 248. , 62-63.

Valley and the Jebel Amil.²⁷ The significance of the border change is that it radically changed the demographics by introducing two large populations of Shi and Sunni Muslims that were unaccustomed to inter-sectarian rule by a Maronite and Druze dominated government.²⁸

In 1926, the Lebanese constitution was written with the understanding that relationships between the various sects had to be maintained if the country were to survive.²⁹ The constitution described the criticality of unity and equality but did not give specific proportional representation ratios.³⁰ Though the methods and results of the census were highly suspect, the results favored

²⁷ Ibid., 62-63. The coastal cities and the Akkar Plain are predominantly Sunni; the Bekaa valley and the Jebel Amil are Shia.

²⁸ Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, 169. Sunnis and Shia saw this incorporation into a Christian dominated government as a permanent separation from the Arab world.

²⁹ Ibid., 167. One major aspect of the constitution was the inclusion of a French Mandate that allowed a French Governor to play a role in Lebanese politics and exert French influence. The mandate was terminated in 1943 which marked the end of official Sunni protestation to the constitution.

³⁰ Ibid., 167.

the Maronites.³¹ The lack of proportional representation lies at the heart of every internal Lebanese conflict from 1926 to present and facilitates Hezbollah's efforts to gain influence over the Lebanese government.

Lebanon declared independence from the French in 1943 and created the National Pact, an unwritten agreement between the Maronites and Sunnis designed to maintain the current form of Lebanese government and stem the rise of sectarianism.³² The terms in the agreement focused in three key issues: proclamation of an independent, neutral Lebanon that is not tied to France or Syria, Muslims must accept the “Christian character” and Christians must accept the

³¹ Petran, *The Struggle Over Lebanon*, 431. , 31. The census was conducted at the request of presidential candidate Muhammad al-Jisr (Muslim). He believed that the Muslims outnumbered the other sects and was therefore entitled to the position. The results were not in his favor and resulted in the permanent assignment of positions mentioned above. The census results showed the population to be approximately half Christian and half Muslim. The slight majority of Christians was attributed to rule that allowed them to account for Christian expatriates and newly arrived immigrants who were hastily given citizenship. Muslim refugees seldom received citizenship.

³² Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 306. , 33-37.

“Arab face in commerce and government and the government division will be divided in a six to five ratio in favor of the Christians and the cabinet will be divided evenly.³³ The constitution was amended so that the president would always be a Christian, the Sunnis were given the premiership and Shiites were given the least powerful position as the speakership of the parliament.³⁴ Parliamentary representation was then set at a 6:5 Christian to Muslim ratio leaving the Christians with a permanent majority.³⁵ The changes in sectarian division of power violated the constitution and increased the already powerful executive branch. With a guaranteed majority in parliament and the President’s ability to veto any parliamentary decision, the Christians have the ability to maintain power and influence within the government for the foreseeable future.³⁶

The National Pact built on centuries of exclusion, marginalization and under representation which

³³ Ibid., 33-34.

³⁴ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hezbollah*, 196., 12.

³⁵ Petran, *The Struggle Over Lebanon*, 431., 34.

³⁶ Ibid., 35.

created a deep resentment of the Lebanese ruling sects and developed a perceived identity crisis within the Shia community.³⁷

Catalyst for Conflict: The Creation of Israel and the PLO

After a long diplomatic and military struggle, the State of Israel was established on May 14, 1948 marking the birth of the most disputed country on earth.³⁸ This is important in that the actions of the state of Israel acted as a catalyst for the creation Hezbollah and as an enduring antagonist for the organization and its' supporters. The day the Israeli declaration of independence was signed; the Egyptians celebrated the historic event by bombing Tel Aviv.³⁹ Large numbers of displaced Palestinians occupied Gaza, the West Bank and to southern

³⁷ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196., 7.

³⁸ Martin Gilbert, *Israel : A History* (London: Black Swan, 1999), 186.

³⁹ Ibid., 187.

Lebanon.⁴⁰ This created additional pressure on existing populations, especially in the poor rural areas of southern Lebanon. There appeared to be little conflict between Lebanon and Israel before or immediately following Israel's independence. In 1955, Egyptian President Abdel Nasser initiated the pan-Arab movement in an attempt to foster unity among Arab states to destroy Israel. Egyptian rhetoric inspired several radical guerrilla organizations to develop out of the Palestinian refugee camps to support the pan-Arab cause. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was created in Cairo in 1967 by President Nasser. The PLO was created to serve as an umbrella for the myriad of Palestinian terror groups for command and control, logistics, training and material support. This provided the supporting Arab states a proxy to fight

⁴⁰ Alan M. Dershowitz, *The Case for Israel* (Hoboken, N.J: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 78-90. There is a popular belief that Israel created the Palestinian refugee problem during the war of 1947-48, thus fueling resentment among the Palestinian population against Israel. Alan Dershowitz argues that the refugee problem is a direct result of the Arab-initiated conflict and the numbers of refugees were exacerbated by their actions and radical policies. The Arabs were fighting a war of extermination against the entire Jewish population. The new Jewish state was prepared to offer citizenship to all Arabs who wished to remain in Israel.

against Israeli and United States interests. The PLO gained instant support from the Communist states and most Arab States.⁴¹ This is significant in that the PLO actions caused the Israeli invasion in 1978 and subsequent occupation of southern Lebanon in 1982. These actions can be considered a catalyst for the creation of Hezbollah as the defender of Lebanon and as provider to the Shia⁴².

Musa al-Sadr and the Lebanese Shia Social Awakening

By 1959, the conditions in the Shia areas were centuries behind the rest of Lebanon. Basic services like schools, hospitals and utilities were in disrepair or non-existent. The lack of concern by the Maronite dominated government prevented any serious representation in

⁴¹ Yonah Alexander and Joshua Sinai, *Terrorism : The PLO Connection* (New York; Bristol, PA: C. Russak; Sales office, Taylor & Francis, 1989), 259. , 121-136.

⁴² Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196. , 15. Ahmad Hamzeh has identified four catalysts for the creation of Hezbollah. The first is the Shia identity crisis brought on by decades of oppression, the second in under representation within the government, the third is the Israeli invasion and occupation and the fourth is the demonstration effect of Iran's successful Islamic revolution.

government and corruption within the Shia leadership crippled efforts to improve infrastructure in the communities.⁴³ In addition, the Shia political and religious voice was fractured and disjointed making improvements to the infrastructure or quality of life difficult. Sayyid Hussein Husseini, a Shia member of the Lebanese Parliament in 1959, describes it as politics of polarity and feudalism on one side and extremism on the other.⁴⁴ The Lebanese Shia religious leadership was not much better; they were stagnant and unable to break away from centuries of tradition which prevented them from understanding the needs of the population and limiting their influence in all areas of life.⁴⁵ 1959 would mark the beginning of a Shia religious revival with arrival of three

⁴³ Hala Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 240. , 10-11.

⁴⁴ Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam : Musa Al Sadr and the Shia of Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 228. , 73.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 75-76. The traditions that they espoused had no bearing on modern life and they saw every innovation as “bida” or heresy. “Oh believers, obey god and obey the messenger and those authority among you”, Quran 4:59. The traditional Shia cleric training is largely responsible for these actions. Cleric selections are made during childhood. The children are separated from their families and then

influential religious leaders, Musa Al Sadr, Ayatollah Muhammad Mahdi Shamseddine and Ayatollah al-Sayyed Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah.

Musa al-Sadr is the most notable of the three Shia clerics that are credited with influencing the Shia political awakening. Sadr, who can be credited with creating Hezbollah's social service section, arrived in Lebanon in 1959 from Iran with the intent of organizing the Shia into a unified body, achieve political equality within the Lebanese government and reform the role of clerics in the community.⁴⁶ He received his religious training in Qom, Iran and then in Najaf, Iraq, both highly respected centers of religious learning.⁴⁷ Sadr's did not subscribe to the traditional fundamentalist approach to Islam but instead adopted an approach that combined

subjected to intense study, starvation and environmental stresses until they graduate. During training, there is little contact with the outside world. The students don't understand how to apply their teachings or relate them to life situations.

⁴⁶ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196, 40.

⁴⁷ Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbullah : Politics and Religion*, 254. , 13. In Najaf, Iraq, Musa al-Sadr studied under Ayatollah Khomeini and Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr.

traditional values with modern concepts.⁴⁸ Through family ties and relationships developed during his formative years, he was able to gain and maintain the support and guidance of both President Assad of Syria and the Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran. Musa al-Sadr's leadership abilities, educational pedigree and his Lebanese heritage and political connections gave him instant credibility within the Lebanese Shia communities. Sadr understood the importance of gaining popular support before any political goals could be achieved. His understanding is articulated in a message to his followers, "whenever the poor involve themselves in social revolution it is a confirmation that injustice is not predestined".⁴⁹

By all appearances Sadr's motivations are religious in nature. Muslims are duty bound by the third pillar of Islam, Zakat or charity, to donate or provide services to those in need.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁸ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196, 20.

⁴⁹ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 18.

⁵⁰ Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins, *Alms for Jihad : Charity and Terrorism in the Islamic World* (Cambridge ;; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 348. , 11.

nature of Zakat is further described in Surah 98:6, "And they have been commanded no more than this: to worship Allah, offering him sincere devotion, being true in faith; to establish regular prayer and practice regular charity; and that is the religion right and straight."⁵¹

His initial focus was on community outreach and social projects that addressed the most crucial shortcomings, employment and basic services. His first project, built in 1960, was a vocational school built in southern Lebanon at a cost of \$165,000.⁵² The school was an instant success and is currently still operating. His second successful organization was the Charity and Philanthropy Association which was intended to provide basic needs to the Shia areas.⁵³ In 1967, he created the independent lobbying group called, the Islamic Shi'ite Higher Council.⁵⁴ The

⁵¹ Ibid., 11.

⁵² Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 18.

⁵³ Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah : The Story from within*, 284. , 14.

⁵⁴ Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology : Religious Ideology, Political Ideology and Political Program*, 357. , 26-27.

organization sought to equally represent Shia interests to the government to support Sadr's seven-point political program that sought to organize the Shia community. The program was designed to:

...improve socio-economic conditions, implement a holistic vision of Islam, promote totality among Muslims, promote cooperation with all Lebanese sects, fulfill patriotic and national duties, protect Lebanese independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, combat ignorance, poverty, social injustice, and moral degeneration and support the Palestinian resistance and to effectively take part in the liberation of Palestine along with other Arab countries.⁵⁵

The party was officially recognized by the Lebanese government in May of 1970 and received ten million dollars in aid for southern Lebanon.⁵⁶ Sadr continued to lobby for additional funding from the government by requesting that social aid be added to the annual budget, expansion of the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 27.

⁵⁶ Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 306. , 178.

Litani irrigation project and increase the numbers of hospitals and schools.⁵⁷ In 1974, Sadr formed the Movement of the Deprived or Disinherited to force the Lebanese government to reform the current system to allow for equal rights for all deprived persons of all sects.⁵⁸ At the beginning of the civil war a militia was created to support the movement during the conflict called Amal.⁵⁹ Amal was trained by Fatah and had a controversial pro-Syrian stance.⁶⁰ They

⁵⁷ Ibid., 179. The Litani Irrigation Project would bring water from the Litani River in the south to southern Lebanon.

⁵⁸ Judith P. Harik, *Hezbollah : The Changing Face of Terrorism* (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 241. , 22. The Movement of the Deprived or Disinherited would later become the first Shiite political party. Though the Shia dominated the membership, there was minor representation from the other sects.

⁵⁹ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 17.

⁶⁰ Augustus R. Norton, *Amal and the Shi`a : Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon*, 1std ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 238. , 48.

played a minor role in the fighting but would rise in popularity during the Israeli invasion during Operation Litani and after the Iranian revolution.⁶¹

Musa al-Sadr was the most influential leader in the Shia community and is largely responsible for building the support base through social works and political influence that would evolve into Hezbollah. Sadr managed to keep the PLO and the Palestinian struggle separate from his efforts to supporting the Shia. Sadr would openly show support for the Palestinian cause but adamantly opposed them as state operating within a state because it was contrary to the Movement of the Deprived's goal of establishing unity and equality within Lebanon.

Sadr would remain influential in Lebanese politics and in the Shia community until his mysterious disappearance in 1978. After his death, his legacy would be used by three primary stakeholders, Iran, Iraqi Shia and the Lebanese Shia.⁶² All stakeholders could claim affiliation

⁶¹ Ibid., 49.

⁶² Ajami, *The Vanished Imam : Musa Al Sadr and the Shia of Lebanon*, 228. , 190.

with Sadr through family, educational, religious and social means and sought notoriety through their association with the Imam. The leadership of the new Islamic Republic of Iran saw this as an opportunity to export the revolution through the legacy of Sadr and build in his influence.⁶³ The Lebanese and Iraqi Shia had a martyr and role model to emulate for their struggles. The most enduring aspect of his legacy was his emphasis on social services and the importance of establishing popular support to achieve organization goals.

The two other influential clerics, Ayatollah Muhammad Shamseddine and Ayatollah al-Sayyed Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, focused their attention on Beirut and the surrounding areas. Though they did not have an impact on the political or military resistance movements, they excelled in the social arena by opening and maintaining several hospitals and religious schools within Beirut.⁶⁴ One of the notable achievements is the Association of

⁶³ Ibid., 196.

⁶⁴ Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah : The Story from within*, 284. , 14-16.

Philanthropic Organizations that brought together several educational, religious and social institutions.⁶⁵

The Lebanese Civil War, Social Services and Syrian Interests

The Lebanese Civil War erupted in 1975 as a sectarian war between the Christians and the Palestinians or the Phlange Party backed by the Lebanese Front against the Nationalist and Progressive Movements of the Lebanese National Movement.⁶⁶ After two years of fighting the war ended with no real change to the government structure and Syria with a firm foothold in Lebanon. Syrian involvement in the Civil War and subsequent occupation was a well calculated event that advanced Syrian interests. Prior to 1975, the deterrents to Syria's involvement on

⁶⁵ Ibid., 16.

⁶⁶ Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 306. , 187. The war can be traced to an accidental killing by the Lebanese Army of a protesting fisherman in the city of Sidon. The government did not conduct an investigation and failed to adequately discipline those responsible and chose not to compensate the fisherman.

Lebanon was the unstable political situation in Syria, the resilience of the Lebanese regime, the strong western influence within the Lebanese government and the possibility of an Israeli response on Syrian soil.⁶⁷ The Lebanese Civil War in 1975 either removed or weakened all the deterrents which facilitated Syrian interests. Syrian intervention in the civil war enabled the regime to establish a permanent, internationally recognized, presence in Lebanon that brought relative stability to Lebanon but more importantly gave Syria direct influence over Lebanon.

The PLO and its large displaced Palestinian population placed an additional burden on Lebanon's sparse resources and dilapidated infrastructure. More importantly, the cross border raids into Israel were bringing retaliatory strikes against PLO positions and population centers, not always Palestinian. The Shia attitude towards the Israeli was not openly violent. Through Sadr's guidance, they were focused on solving Shia related issues with the Lebanese government. This is important in that over the period of 1970-1983, the actions of the PLO and the Israelis

⁶⁷ Avi-Ran, *The Syrian Involvement in Lebanon since 1975*, 11-12.

inadvertently weaken the Lebanese government, create Hezbollah and increase the need for social services.

The Effects of Operations Litani and Peace for Galilee

Between 1970 and 1978, the Lebanese based PLO consistently conducted cross-border raids on predominantly on Israeli civilian targets, mostly children.⁶⁸ The Israeli policy allowed for immediate retaliation using the requisite amount of force to destroy the threat or source of the threat.⁶⁹ In 1978, the conservative Israeli government led by Menachem Begin initiated Operation Litani to create a buffer zone between the northern Israeli border and north of the Litani River. The attack was successful in creating a buffer zone, though the PLO's military capability was not damaged. The Shia's welcomed the Israeli attack on the PLO with the hope of

⁶⁸ Richard A. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee : The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 241. , 54.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 54.

driving the Palestinians out of the south, however, the IDF caused an estimated one thousand Shia civilian deaths resulting loss of support.⁷⁰ The UN created the United Nations Interim Force for Lebanon (UNIFIL) to ensure the withdrawal of Israeli forces and restore peace and aid the Lebanese government in restoring control of the area.⁷¹ The PLO did not accept the UN mandate and began attacking UNIFIL soldiers resulting in UNIFIL's submission to the PLO. As a result, the PLO was allowed to operate south the Litani River, completely unhindered by UNIFIL. Over the next two years, the PLO began a military build-up that added armored vehicles, anti-aircraft guns and missles, artillery and mortars to their inventory in the south.⁷²

⁷⁰ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196., 16

⁷¹ Gilbert, *Israel : A History*, 490.

⁷² Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee : The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon*, 241., 58. The PLO added 20 tanks (T-54 and T-55), forty heavy Katusha rocket launchers, ninety anti-tank canons, one hundred 20mm and 160mm mortars, 14.5mm anti-tank guns and SA-7 Strella anti-aircraft missles.

The Iranian Revolution in 1979, can be considered another catalyst for Hezbollah's creation in that the radical Islamists demonstrated that an Islamic State could exist and be governed by Sharia Law. The ties between the new Iranian leadership and the Lebanese Shia had been forged decades before making southern Lebanon the perfect candidate for exportation of the revolution. The timing could not have been better insofar as the pre-revolutionary ties between the Lebanese and Iranian clergy would provide inspiration, training and state financial backing that would jump start the Hezbollah Organization and add Lebanon to what some supporters consider the umma⁷³. This spiritual tie to Hezbollah would often conflict with the strategic tie that Syria shares with Lebanon. As discussed in the introduction, Syrian interests and Iranian interests are close but not completely compatible.

⁷³ Anthony H. Cordesman, "Preliminary "Lessons" of the Israeli-Hizbollah War," *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (2006), 60.

In 1982, the Israeli ambassador to London was shot by Palestinian terrorists, which prompted an Israeli attack of PLO positions throughout Lebanon.⁷⁴ Yassar Arafat, head of the PLO, retaliated with an artillery attack on three Israeli settlements. The Israeli leadership met after the attack and developed the plan for Operation Peace for Galilee. On June 6, 1982, the Israelis invaded southern Lebanon.⁷⁵ The operation was aimed at mitigating or removing Syrian influence in Lebanon and driving the PLO out of Lebanon. The operation resulted in an estimated 18,000 civilian deaths and over 30,000 wounded.⁷⁶ After the invasion, the Shia populations in the south were thankful that the PLO had been removed and hopes were high that a

⁷⁴ Gilbert, *Israel : A History*, 503. The gunman was a member of Abu Nidal, a group that opposed Arafat's leadership. President Begin withheld that information from the cabinet when the decision to invade was made. In Israel's thirty four year history, this is the first war that did not achieve national consensus; some saw it as a war of aggression, not defense.

⁷⁵ Feldman, Shai and Heda Rechnitz Kijner, *Deception, Consensus and War: Israel and Lebanon* (Tel Aviv University: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 1984). , 15.

⁷⁶ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196. , 18

peaceful and economically profitable relationship would develop.⁷⁷ The Lebanese Shia and the Israelis had shared interests. Both wanted an end to the PLO's cross border excursions, the presence of the PLO in the south and a secure southern border. Initially, the Israelis were seen as liberators but as time passed, the Shia became suspect of the Israeli intentions.⁷⁸ Israel attempted to install a West Bank inspired plan, the Organization for a Unified South, which set up a system of self governance which was secured by internally recruited militias.⁷⁹ The plan seemed sound, but the villages that rejected the terms were coerced by the Israelis to join.⁸⁰ It was at this point that the status of the Israelis shifted from liberators to occupiers. The Shia were further angered when the Israelis interrupted the sacred Shia Ashura Festival that celebrates the martyrdom of

⁷⁷ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 14.

⁷⁸ Harik, *Hezbollah : The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 241. , 35.

⁷⁹ Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240. , 15.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 15.

Imam Hussein.⁸¹ Imam Hussein is considered to be the “Prince of Martyrs”. The importance of Hussein’s legacy and the combination of disrupting this particular festival while occupying Shia territory portrayed the Israelis as the contemporary oppressors that the Imam is famous for defying.⁸² These actions enabled the Lebanese Shia leadership to eliminate internal conflict and unify the community through the common hatred of the Israelis.⁸³ The result was the issuance of the first fatwa that ordered non-violent resistance towards the Israelis. These events mark the beginning of Shia resistance to the Israeli occupation.

⁸¹ Ibid., 86. Imam Hussein’s death is commemorated every year with a celebration that includes reenactments of the events at Karbala and recitations of his death. He is considered to be the “Prince of Martyrs”.

⁸² Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbullah : Politics and Religion*, 254. , 12.

⁸³ Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer; Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*, 1st ed.d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), 176. , 92.

The Beginning of Hezbollah

The events following the Israeli invasion in 1982 marked the formal beginning of Hezbollah, but the organization was not consolidated within Lebanon until 1985.⁸⁴ Hezbollah's goals, intent and loyalty to the Wali al-Faqih, Ayatollah Khomeini, in their manifesto entitled, the "Open Letter".⁸⁵ The Open Letter expressed Hezbollah's desire to establish the Islamic State of Lebanon that is governed by the Quran, the Sunna and the Wali al-Faqih.⁸⁶ Hezbollah enjoyed the support of Iran and Syria but still faced internal resistance from Amal. Fortunately for Hezbollah, Amal shared many of the same interests as Israel. They wanted a secure southern border, no PLO presence and the end of hostilities.⁸⁷ This gave the perception that Amal was supportive of Israel

⁸⁴ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 34

⁸⁵ Magnus Ranstorp, *Hizb'Allah in Lebanon : The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 257. , 41-42.

⁸⁶ Norton, *Amal and the Shi`a : Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon*, 238. , 104-105.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 122.

which turned much of the Shia support towards Hezbollah. Intermittent fighting between Amal and Hezbollah proceeded until 1989 when Hezbollah defeated Amal by destroying their military strongholds and consolidating the majority of Shia under Hezbollah.⁸⁸ Amal's military responsibilities were taken over by Hezbollah. In 1992, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, left Amal to join Hezbollah.⁸⁹ He has since become the most influential leader within the Shia community of southern Lebanon since Musa al-Sadr. The final cease fire was negotiated by Iran and Syria with Syria providing peace keeping troops.

In an attempt to resolve grievances between the sects, the Lebanese government drafted the Ta'if agreement or the Document for National Reconciliation was signed in Ta'if, Saudi Arabia to bring an end to the civil war, equalize the ratio of Muslim to Christian parliamentary

⁸⁸ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196., 102.

⁸⁹ Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240., 20.

seats and transfer the presidential executive power to the council of ministers.⁹⁰ Syria's enduring issue with Lebanon was determining which party or individual to support at a given time. The Document allowed Syria the power to exert control over the volatile situation and establish some predictability over the country by outlining Syria's "special interest" in Lebanon. Syria would be responsible for providing security, disarming the militias, and assisting the central government until the security conditions were suitable to the Syrians.⁹¹ To further establish control of Lebanon, Syria negotiated the Treaty of Brotherhood, Cooperation and Coordination with Lebanon.⁹² This is critical to Hezbollah in that it gave the organization the necessary support, time to reorganize, resources to refit the militia and consolidate power. At this point, Hezbollah was primarily a militia with little ambition to participate in governance but saw the changes

⁹⁰ Ibid., 71

⁹¹ Harik, *Hezbollah : The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 241. ,45

⁹² Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240. ,72

occurring within the country. Syria's involvement made the leadership realize that participating in the political process was the only way the organization would be able to survive.

Syria and the Implications of Hariri's Assassination

Syria's influence in Lebanon's government went unopposed until the 2000 national elections when Rafiq al-Hariri was elected as the Prime Minister thereby overcoming Syrian attempts to install a pro-Syrian candidate.⁹³ Hariri maintained ties with Syria before Bashar Assad became the Syrian proponent to Lebanon. In 2004, Assad pushed the Lebanese government to extend the pro-Syrian Lebanese President, Emile Lahoud, to a third term.⁹⁴ This was in violation of the Taif Agreement and the Lebanese constitution. Hariri was openly against the Syrian interference and was warned by Assad to accept the outcome or be branded as anti-

⁹³ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 124.

⁹⁴ Ibid.,125.

Syrian. From the Hezbollah perspective, Lahoud is an ally that ensures the organization's survival. After the extension was granted, the United Nations passed the UN resolution 1559 which called for the immediate withdrawal of Syrian troops and the disarmament of Hezbollah. It is rumored that Hariri, through his connections with French President Jaque Chirac, requested UN involvement.⁹⁵ Resistance to the extension grew within the other sects until there was open defiance to Syria. Hariri was seen as a serious threat to Syria and Syrian interests in the region. Hariri's assassination in February 2005 marked the end of direct Syrian involvement in Lebanon. The million person protest, dubbed the Cedar Revolution, demanded the removal of Syrian troops and the truth behind Hariri's death.⁹⁶ After Syrian troops withdrew in April 2005, Syria would rely on its pro-Syrian President, Emile Lahoud and Hezbollah as the strategic arm of Syria. The removal of direct Syrian involvement and the influence of al-Hariri were helpful to Hezbollah in

⁹⁵ Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240. , 194.

⁹⁶ Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology : Religious Ideology, Political Ideology and Political Program*, 357. , 293.

that it streamlined their external command and control structure. Syrian interests did not change. Their ability to directly affect the conduct of the Lebanese government was greatly diminished. Syria was now reliant on Hezbollah and Iran to pursue their interests in Lebanon. For Hezbollah, the new balance of power allowed for an increased political presence and ensured the longevity of the organization through Syrian indirect support.⁹⁷

The Effects of Hezbollah's Victory in the 2006 War

The 2006 war was a defining moment for Hezbollah, Syria and Iran. The decades of work, millions of dollars of funding and political risk had paid off in a non-victory for Israel. The war proved that Hezbollah was capable of defeating a professional military by using a balanced unconventional lethal/non-lethal strategy. The source of the conflict is linked to two acts of aggression, one by the Palestinian Hamas and one by Hezbollah. The coordination between the

⁹⁷ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196., 125-126.

two groups and the timing of the attacks are debatable. On 25 June 06, the Hamas military wing (Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades) attacked Israeli forces outside the Gaza strip, killing two and capturing one Israeli soldier, causing Israel to launch attacks into Gaza.⁹⁸ On 12 July 06, Hezbollah crossed the border and attacked an Israeli vehicle killing three Israeli soldiers and capturing two.⁹⁹ The Israeli Prime Minister called the raids and act of war and begins to prepare for swift military action should negotiations to return the captured soldiers fail. The violence quickly escalated with Hezbollah launching Katusha rockets and mortars south targeting civilian populations to terrorize the populace and antagonize the IDF. Israel immediately began conducting air strikes against Lebanon's International Airport and key Hezbollah targets, like the offices of Sheikh Hassan Nasralla.¹⁰⁰ Hezbollah has strategically embedded key organizational

⁹⁸ Jeffery M. Sharp, "Israel-Hamas-Hezbollah: The Current Conflict," *Congressional Research Service* (2006), 2

⁹⁹ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 135.

¹⁰⁰ Sharp, *Israel-Hamas-Hezbollah: The Current Conflict*, 5

infrastructure within the Shiite communities and neighborhoods. This is an effective strategy that both hides key infrastructure and provides ample media exploitation opportunities after the buildings have been destroyed.¹⁰¹ After the airstrikes began, Sheikh Nasrallah declared open war on Israel. Both sides escalate combat operations resulting in increased civilian and military casualties, damaged infrastructure and requiring outside assistance to mitigate the conflict. The UN negotiated a cease fire on 14 August 06 under the provisions that Hezbollah returns the captured soldiers and disarms allowing the legitimate Lebanese government to maintain order.¹⁰² Hezbollah declared victory and began an aggressive, efficient reconstruction campaign that would harden the resolve of supporters and win over many neutral and non-supporters.

¹⁰¹ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), "Hezbollah's use of Lebanese Civilians as Human Shields: Military Infrastructure Hidden in Populated Areas," (2006), 6.

¹⁰² Jackson G. Allers, "Hezbollah Ahead of Lebanese Government Reconstruction," *Inter Service Press*, 2006, ,

The historical references discussed in the previous chapters outline specific events and identify reoccurring trends that influenced the formation and organizational structure of Lebanese Hezbollah. Through each era, the Lebanese Shia has been oppressed, neglected and marginalized by a combination of domination from a sect and failure to internally organize. Another trend is the lack of social services. The ruling power habitually focused social services in the urban areas that supported their sect. In terms of infrastructure and social service capacity, the Lebanese Shia in the south were centuries behind the rest of Lebanon. The lack of social service concerned the Shia populace the most, which focused the first Shia leader, Musa al-Sadr, on rehabilitating the social services sector. This gave the Shia vocational training, better access to medical services and better representation in the government. The social service section in Hezbollah has been centuries in the making and occupies a less visible but critical role in the organizational structure. Without the social service section, the organization would not have the immense popular support

base it currently enjoys and would not be as effective against Israel or influencing the Lebanese government.

The Hezbollah Model

Hezbollah's overwhelming success can be attributed to its use of social services. The importance of Hezbollah's social service section is often overshadowed by the actions and results of the Lebanese based military wing and the globally oriented Islamic Jihad Organization (IJO).¹⁰³ However, the recruits to fill the ranks of army, the political base needed to get Hezbollah officials elected to the Lebanese Parliament and the support of external supporters could not have been possible without the social service section. This chapter will discuss the influences and evolution of Hezbollah's organizational model, the decision making process and describe the goals, focus and effectiveness of the social service section. Also, the chapter will compare

¹⁰³ Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240. , 113. The Islamic Jihad Organization believed to be a part of the Hezbollah's organization but is under direct control of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. Imad Mugniyah was the most notable member of the organization.

Hezbollah's use of social services and the U.S. military's use of Civil Military Operations. Though Hezbollah's organizational structure appears to be Muslim by nature, it is far from uniquely Muslim. Hezbollah has developed a hybrid organizational structure or model that includes influences from several revolutionary theorists making the model both efficient and exportable. This chapter will examine those differences, the evolution of the organizational structure, the goals of the social service section, how the section operates and how decisions are influenced and made. Also, the chapter will outline Hezbollah's ability to marginalize Lebanese social services efforts while solidifying their position within Lebanon in the process.

The Evolution and Influences of the Hezbollah Model

Hezbollah was not created with a pre-planned model; instead it inherited a structure that evolved from the historical conditions and the initial efforts of Musa al-Sadr. As noted throughout the historical context chapter, organizations within the Lebanese Shia evolved as the

hierarchy of needs changed. From the Ottoman occupation in 1516 to the arrival of Musa al-Sadr in 1959, the lack of infrastructure in the under developed Shia areas was the primary grievance. Sadr, with the help of Iran, made significant infrastructure improvements by organizing the Shia groups resulting in the eventual creation of the social services section.¹⁰⁴ Sadr lobbied within the Lebanese government for funding for social projects which led to greater political involvement and the need for a political section within the Shia community. The Israeli invasion and occupation in 1982 created the need for a military or resistance wing to the now formal organization of Hezbollah.¹⁰⁵ As a result, the Hezbollah model is composed of a higher headquarters supported by three primary branches; political, military and social. This could be coincidence or a result of an undefined universal law of insurgency that oppressed, neglected and economically disadvantaged people will revolt and be susceptible to influence from any agent of

¹⁰⁴ Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology : Religious Ideology, Political Ideology and Political Program*, 357. , 27.

¹⁰⁵ Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240. , 47.

change that addresses those shortcomings. Che Guevara describes the guerrilla as “a crusader for the people’s freedom who, after exhaustive peaceful means, resorts to armed rebellion. He aims directly at destroying an unjust social order and indirectly replacing it with something new.”¹⁰⁶ Though the conditions in southern Lebanon were unique to the Shia, the Hezbollah organizational model is not. Except for minor changes that adjust for Hezbollah’s operating environment, the model appears to be heavily influenced by Mao Zedong’s and Che Guevara’s insurgency models.

Mao’s three phases of guerilla warfare are reflected in the three branches of the Hezbollah model. The first phase of the model, and the most critical, is the building and maintaining a popular, ideological support base or in Hezbollah’s model, the social service

¹⁰⁶ Ernesto Guevara, Brian Loveman, and Thomas M. Davies, *Guerrilla Warfare* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 440. , 30.

section.¹⁰⁷ The second phase is the engagement is to engage in guerilla warfare to resist the oppressor and increase the size and experience level of the army in preparation for the final phase. Hezbollah's military wing to include the IJO fills this role. The third phase is the execution of a conventional military and political campaign to complete the conquest. Hezbollah accomplishes this in its political wing. This process is not linear, it allows for a simultaneous execution of all three phases and the ability to retreat to a previous phase if needed, emphasizing the need for a solid social support base. The main difference is that the political wing was active before the military wing. Another similarity is the conduct of the fighters. Mao believed that a unity of spirit must exist between the fighters and the populace by applying three rules: (1) all actions are subject to command, (2) do not steal from the people and (3) be neither selfish nor

¹⁰⁷ Zedong Mao, *On Guerrilla Warfare. Uniform Title: You Ji Zhan. English* (New York: Praeger, 1961), 44. “Because guerilla warfare basically derives from the masses and is supported by them, it can neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and cooperation”.

unjust.¹⁰⁸ Hezbollah followed a similar methodology when dealing with the people. Though no standing orders, except Quranic guidance on charity, are published, Hezbollah has a reputation for having discipline, integrity and social assistance.¹⁰⁹

Mao and Hezbollah's ideologies are quite similar. Hezbollah's "foundation period" was characterized by the establishment of an adequate support base and the build-up of the military to resist Israeli occupation.¹¹⁰ Establishing support bases or a social service like structure is critical to the longevity of a guerrilla organization. Mao describes the importance of support bases in his *Selected Military Writings*:

"Without such strategic bases, there would be nothing to depend on in the carrying out of our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of the war. It is a characteristic of guerilla warfare behind

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 92.

¹⁰⁹ Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 322. , 277.

¹¹⁰ Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah : The Story from within*, 284. , 79.

the enemy lines that it is fought without a rear, for the guerilla forces are separated from the countries general rear. But guerilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas.”¹¹¹

The focus shifted to organizing the political section by uniting the different factions and clarifying the organizations goals and theological stance to Hezbollah supporters.¹¹²

There are two explanations for the similarities between the Marxist inspired Mao and Che approaches to revolutionary or protracted war. The first are the changes that occurred within the Lebanese clerical education system. The emergence of Lebanese hawzas, religious educational schools, taught a similar classical curriculum that the schools in Qom and Najaf used except that the Lebanese/Hezbollah model embraced some of the legacy Marxist ideology resulting in a mix of religious and economic and political studies.¹¹³ The second explanation is the residual

¹¹¹ Zedong Mao, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung*, 2ndd ed. (Peking, China: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), 410. , 165-166.

¹¹² Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah : The Story from within*, 284. , 80-81.

¹¹³ Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 322. , 244. A hawza differs from a madrasa in that it teaches a

influence left by the Lebanese Communist Party and other socialist inspired parties that attracted Shia members before the creation of Amal and Hezbollah.¹¹⁴ The result is a hybrid Mao-Islamic organizational structure that uses proven guerilla warfare principles that focus on the populace to achieve its goals.

The Organizational Structure and Decision Making

The purpose of this section is to outline Hezbollah's basic organizational structure with emphasis on the social services section's purpose, goals, and effectiveness. Hezbollah's organizational structure is divided into three primary branches with an executive branch that report directly to the Shura Council: the military branch, political branch and social services

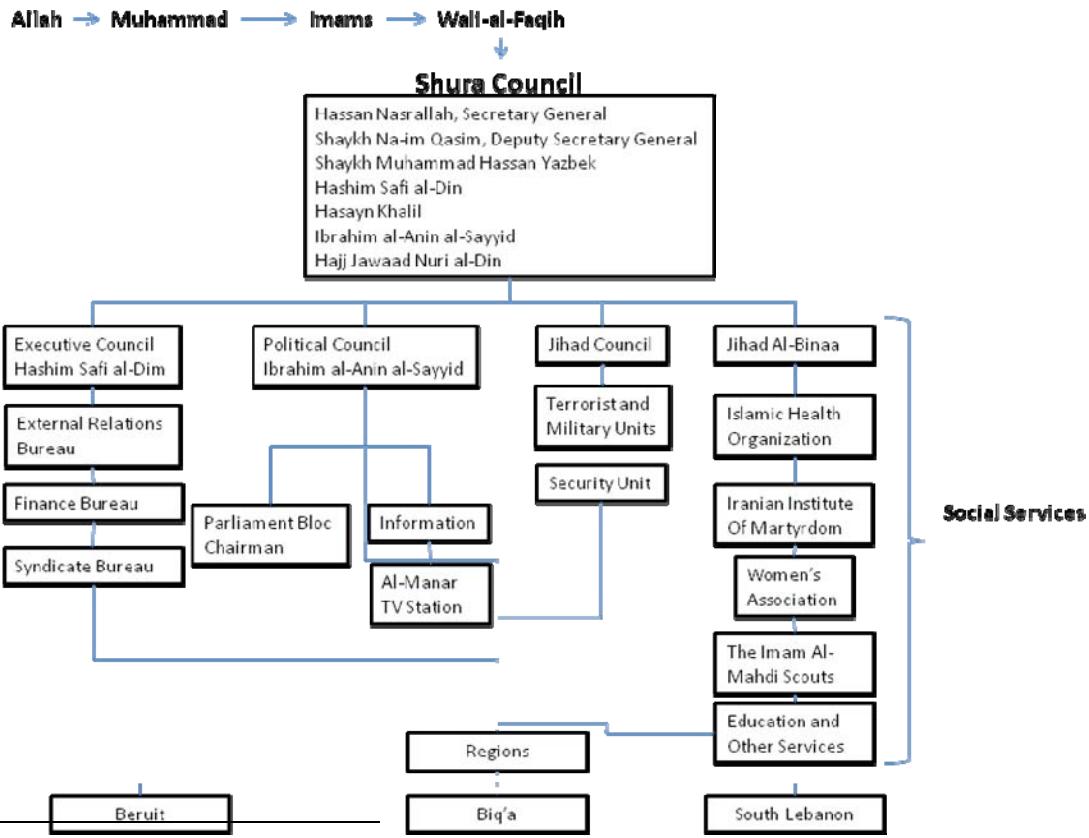
standard curriculum and is institutionalized and bureaucratic. Traditional madrasas were founded by a newly graduate cleric and was closed after his death. A hawza is a permanent structure and is governed by a board of trustees. The rejection of secularism and socialism was becoming less popular which drove students to the Lebanese hawzas.

¹¹⁴ Tarabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 306., 103 and Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 322., 263.

branch. All branches receive directives from the Shura who in turn transmit the guidance down to the regional commanders or representatives in the Bekaa Valley, Beirut and south Lebanon for

execution.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Ranstorp, *Hizb'Allah in Lebanon : The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis*, 257. , 45.



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¹¹⁶ The organizational chart is a composite developed by the author based on readings and

The Hezbollah Shura council is composed of seven elected members and one Iranian advisor, who is believed to be a member of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).¹¹⁷ The council, like its Iranian model, is the decision making body for the three branches and ultimately the Lebanese Shia community.¹¹⁸ Hezbollah receives guidance and directives developed by the Wali al-Faqih or Supreme Leader either directly through the Secretary General, Sayyed Nassrallah, or through the IRGC representative.¹¹⁹ Iranian decisions concerning Hezbollah are made by multi-faceted interactions between various individuals and institutions

interviews. The top of the chart indicates the flow of information that originates from Allah who transferred it to Muhammad then to the Imam, to the Wali al-Faqih and then to Hezbollah. The Hezbollah organization will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

¹¹⁷ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196. , 45. The Shura is elected through the Majlis al-Shura or Consultative Council, which is made up of about two hundred Hezbollah founders, for three year terms. The majority of the elected members are clergy.

¹¹⁸ Ranstorp, *Hizb'Allah in Lebanon : The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis*, 257. , 41.

¹¹⁹ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196, 48.

that have an interest in the decision within the Iranian regime.¹²⁰ This ensures a consensus within the regime, prevents rivalries from developing and ensuring that Iranian interests are being pursued. There are three primary considerations that have an impact on decisions: (1) Israeli reactions to the decision, (2) Syrian reactions to the decision and (3) Lebanese reactions to the decision in regards to overreaching internal tensions.¹²¹

The Hezbollah Shura council is supported by an executive branch that is responsible for administration of the daily duties of the other three branches; external affairs, finance (collecting and distributing funds), syndicate branch and administration section. The external affairs branch is responsible for working with Lebanese government agencies, political parties and non-governmental organizations.¹²² The finance branch is responsible for collecting, accounting,

¹²⁰ Melissa Dalton, *Interview with Department of Defense Levant Analyst*, 2008).

¹²¹ Williams, *Interview with National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC) Levant Analyst*.

¹²² Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196, 62.

auditing and spending Hezbollah funds with the approval of the Shura and or the Executive Council.¹²³ The sources and methods of collection, fund management and allocation of funds will be covered in the finance chapter. The syndicate branch was designed to provide guidance to Hezbollah's representatives in various organizations and professional associations (medical, legal and political) with the goal of penetrating all aspects of civil society.¹²⁴

The military and security branch or Jihad Council, is charged with conducting all military and security operations within Lebanon and globally in support of the resistance. The branch is divided into two sub-branches; the military and terrorism branch (Islamic Resistance) and the

¹²³ Ibid., 62-63. The finance unit collects funds from four primary sources. The Islamic State of Iran provides the majority of the funding to the social and military branches, khums (1/5 of the personal income) that are paid to the Wali al-Faqih and then distributed at his discretion and separate from the Iranian budget, individual donations form the enormous expatriate population and sympathizers and legitimate business investments that take advantage of Lebanon's free market economy.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 61. The syndicate branch has representation in the Lebanese Labor Federation, the Lebanese Trade Union, the Lebanese Farmers Union, the Lebanese University Faculty Association, the Engineers Syndicate Association and the Lebanese University Student Association.

security branch. The military and terrorism branch conducts operations in support of Hezbollah's regional and strategic goals through the domestically oriented military and the globally focused IJO. The military is composed of recruiting, training and operational sections that indoctrinate, train and field soldiers to the regional units.¹²⁵ The security branch or intelligence unit is a covert organization that is divided into two sub-sections. The first is Party Security, is focused internally by watching and reporting on the actions of party members and the Lebanese populace for subversive activities.¹²⁶ The second is the external security section, which performs a counter-intelligence role and is charged with preventing penetrations from outside threats to the organization.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 71. The regional units are organized into semi-autonomous bands that have little to no contact with other units. Decentralized control makes defeating this type of organization difficult. The soldiers are civilians and operate in the same areas they live. This has proven to be effective against Israel.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 72-74. The size of the force (military and security) is estimated to be approximately 8000 soldiers and security personnel.

The political section is composed of the political council which oversees the parliament bloc and the information section.¹²⁷ The political council performs an advisory function for the Secretary General and the Shura Council. The council administers daily political activities and prepares the party for campaigns, develops political strategy and develops political alliances within the competing groups.¹²⁸ The Parliamentary section was created after the 2000 elections to ensure the elected officials are speaking with one voice that supports the guidance from the Secretary General.¹²⁹ The members are selected based on party loyalty and competence.

¹²⁷ Jennifer Bane, *Interview with Special Operations Command Shia Analyst*, 2008). The political counsel is also called the Politburo Section.

¹²⁸ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hezbollah*, 196. , 66-67. The political counsel is composed of clerics and laypersons. The head of the council is a Shura member. The council has two subcommittees, the Cultural Committee and the Palestinian Affairs Committee. The Cultural Committee is focused on preventing normalization with Israel. The Palestinian Affairs Committee is focused on building and maintaining relations with Palestinian organizations like Hamas and the Islamic Resistance.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 68. The elected Hezbollah officials cannot act as individuals, their views must reflect Hezbollah's views.

The information council is the second most important section within the organization. Through the section's multiple media outlets, they are able to broadcast the Hezbollah message to millions of people worldwide.¹³⁰ The Al Manar (The Beacon) television station is the most popular medium used by Hezbollah. The station is used for traditional programming but has proven to be an effective tool in Hezbollah's information operations campaign. Hezbollah leveraged Al Manar broadcasts against the Israelis in the 2006 war by broadcasting messages to Israel and the Arab world aimed at demoralizing the Israeli populations and rallying the Arabs with scenes Hezbollah fighters on the front line, carnage from air strikes, destroyed Israeli vehicles and battle damaged civilian buildings.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 58. Hezbollah owns and operates one television station, four radio stations and five newspapers and journals.

The Social Service Section

The organization within the section suggests a long term commitment to the struggle and evidence of the understanding and willingness to conduct a protracted war. The most important branch of the Hezbollah organization is the social service section, which can be justified by the allocation of an estimated 50% of Hezbollah's 2007 budget to the social service effort.¹³¹ It is through the work of the social service section that all party activities are possible. Hezbollah's social service section was designed to addresses all aspect of Lebanese Shia society. The original intent of providing needed services to an oppressed people appears to have been manipulated by Hezbollah as a vehicle to bolster its ranks, provide a humanitarian shield to the organization,

¹³¹ Bane, *Interview with Special Operations Command Levant Analyst*. Exact budgetary figures are not available. The annual budget for Hezbollah is within the range of \$500 million to a \$1 billion annually. The figures in this chapter and in the funding chapters are approximations based off interviews and secondary sources.

increase influence within the Lebanese government and combat its Shia rival, Amal.¹³² The social service section serves as an equal arm within the organization and is used as much as the military and political wing in terms of leverage. Hezbollah's Deputy Secretary General, Naim Qassem, describes the purpose and intent of the social service section in the following passage:

Hezbollah paid particular attention to social work. Not one aspect of aiding the poor was neglected as the party worked towards achieving joint social responsibility, answering the urgent needs and introducing beneficial programs. Such work was simply considered Party duty, and concentrated efforts towards raising funds and making available social service resources served towards achieving these goals. The Party worked to the best of its capabilities, cooperating with official institutions to respond to societal needs.¹³³

An argument can be made that social services are an inherent part of Islam that supports the Zakat pillar of Islam. In Qassem's passage he does not mention Islam as the guiding principle for performing charitable works or providing social services. Instead, he uses the words "party duty"

¹³² Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 322. , 264.

¹³³ Qasim and Khalil, *Hizbullah : The Story from within*, 284. , 83.

to provide services to achieve party goals. The transformation between the intent of social services from Musa al-Sadr and Sayyed Nasrallah is striking. Hezbollah seems to have correctly identified the importance of the human terrain and has aggressively employed their social service section to win this critical battle against Amal, the Lebanese government and other competing interests.¹³⁴

The social service section's strength lies in its comprehensive nature. The section attempts to support every deficiency and grievance within the three Shia areas. The branch is composed of five sub-groups that support specialized functions within the community: The Jihad al-Binaa (JBDG), Islamic Health Organization, the Martyrs Foundation, the Women's

¹³⁴ Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 322. , 285.

Association, the Imam al-Mahdi Scouts and the education division.¹³⁵ Most of the organizations are surrogate or branches of pre-existing Iranian organizations.¹³⁶

The reconstruction group is responsible for addressing critical deficiencies in Shia areas, repairing war damage and employing Lebanese Shia's for all projects. The reconstruction group has been a part of Hezbollah's organization since 1985 and has acted as a surrogate to the State of Lebanon's efforts to assist the Shia in the Bekaa and southern Lebanon. The construction group is primarily focused on the Shia areas but openly assists populations from others sects and religions.¹³⁷ This helps Hezbollah's public image and increases partisan support. Jihad al-Binaa Development Group (JBDG; mother's helping hand or reconstruction campaign; source

¹³⁵ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), "Hezbollah: Profile of Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Reach Sponsored by Iran and Supported by Syria (Parts I and II)," (2003), 137. This is not a comprehensive list. The organization chart lists the primary groups. In some cases several smaller groups were combined by like service.

¹³⁶ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. , 111.

¹³⁷ Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240. , 148.

dependant) is a non-governmental organization (NGO).¹³⁸ JBDG was created in Iran after the Iranian Revolution to assist with reconstruction and then exported the concept to Lebanon in the early 1980's to assist with reconstruction in the neglected Shia areas in Beirut, southern Lebanon and the Bekaa.¹³⁹ The purpose of the organization is to support Hezbollah's strategic goals through infrastructure development and distribute compensation funds. The organization consists of over a thousand civil engineers, architects, demographic experts, electricians, plumbers, other specialists.¹⁴⁰ This is a consequence of many citizens receiving degrees abroad and returning to a depressed job market. This has allowed the organization to swell its ranks with highly trained professionals. This also helps in deflecting attention away from the terrorist activities of the IJO, Iranian influence and military activity on the Israeli border. The organization caught the world's

¹³⁸ Allers, *Hezbollah Ahead of Lebanese Government Reconstruction*

¹³⁹ Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 322. , 272-273.

¹⁴⁰ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "Rising from the Ashes," *Al Haram Weekly*, 2006, .

attention immediately following the 2006 War when Hezbollah initiated a reconstruction plan that was developed and executed without the assistance of the Lebanese government. By taking advantage of the lack of organization, slow reaction time and lack of transparency of the government's effort, Hezbollah provided immediate assistance to the populace regardless of religion or political affiliation. As Abu Mahdi, an engineer from JBDG, said, "Waiting for the state to come has proved futile".¹⁴¹ The effectiveness of the organization is evident in the testimony of residents of the areas damaged by the 2006 war. After a resident of a severely damaged section of southern Lebanon, Rana Moussawi, received \$10,500 for rent she said, "...if it was not for Jihad al-Bina, my family and I would be sleeping in the street".¹⁴² Many articles published during the conflict convey similar stories and describe signs of increased support for

¹⁴¹ "United Nations Development Programme: Jihad Al-Binaa Profile," [cited 2008]. Available from <http://portal.undp.org.lb/ngo/NGOSearchAc.cfm?Acronym=JBDA..>

¹⁴² Allers, *Hezbollah Ahead of Lebanese Government Reconstruction*

the organization through the immediate response of the organization.¹⁴³ The JBDG has drawn the attention of the U.S. Government and is recognized as an active supporter of a terrorist organization. On 1 January 2007, it was placed on the U.S. Department of Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control which is designed to assist the public in complying with the various sanctions programs that have been administered¹⁴⁴.

The Islamic Health Organization (IHO) was created in Iran after the Islamic Revolution in 1984. Like Jihad al-Binaa, the concept of the IHO was exported to Lebanon to assist the Lebanese Shia. The organization is responsible for providing health and medical services, including clinics, medications, evacuation of casualties and food distribution.¹⁴⁵ This is a

¹⁴³ Norton, *Hezbollah : A Short History*, 187. 111.

¹⁴⁴ United States Department of Treasury, *Office of Foreign Asset Control: List of Specifically Designated Nationals* 2007), .

¹⁴⁵ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), *Hezbollah: Profile of Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Reach Sponsored by Iran and Supported by Syria (Parts I and II)*, 137.

difficult task given the population size and the costs of health care but through Iranian funding, they maintain a large and well trained staff. The staff owes its livelihood to Hezbollah which translates to political loyalty.¹⁴⁶

There are three primary organizations that focus on welfare for the people that were wounded, killed, or martyred in while fighting against Israel. Organizations like these accomplish two objectives: they meet Islamic requirements for charity and social service and they provide peace of mind to current and prospective soldiers by knowing that they and their families will be cared for in the event of death or injury. The Martyrs foundation is organization that was created in the image of the Iranian Martyrs Foundation. The purpose is to provide support to the families of martyrs, detainees, and resistance fighters.¹⁴⁷ There is also the Foundation for the Wounded that helps fighters and civilians that were wounded in Israeli attacks. The Khomeini

¹⁴⁶ Harik, *Hezbollah : The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 241. , 84.

¹⁴⁷ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196. , 52.

Support Committee was established to provide support to poor families that have been affected by the Israeli occupation or attacks.¹⁴⁸

The Women's Association is an organization composed of Hezbollah's female members. The purpose is to provide assistance with social welfare projects and champion women's rights.¹⁴⁹ The association leveraged Hezbollah's influence to change the cultural norms governing the treatment of widows. The wives of martyrs fell under the prevue of the father in law and were often the subject of mistreatment. Wives of martyrs are financially covered by the Martyr's Foundation and they enjoy a special status within the community.¹⁵⁰ This was important to Hezbollah's recruiting effort. Had they not acted, recruits would be less likely to join the organization knowing of the potential fate of their families.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 52.

¹⁴⁹ Jaber, *Hezbollah : Born with a Vengeance*, 240. , 161.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 161.

The formation of the Imam Al-Mahdi Scouts in 1985 is a testament to Hezbollah's vision of a protracted war. The Scouts are a youth movement intended to indoctrinate the younger generations into radical Shiite Islam centered on Hezbollah's principles and those of the Wali al-Faqih and ultimately increase their support base to fight against Israel and fend off competing Shia groups like Amal.¹⁵¹ The scouts range in age from eight to sixteen and are transferred to the military wing at the age of seventeen.¹⁵² They participate in traditional scouting activities like camping trips, play sports and assist charities. Hezbollah indoctrination is included in every activity.

¹⁵¹ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), "Hezbollah's Shiite Youth Movement, "the Imam Al-Mahdi Scouts",," (2006), The name "Al-Mahdi Scouts" is based on the Shia tradition of the "hidden imam". This is a unique belief in Shia Islam. The significance in naming a youth group "Mahdi" is in the definition: the one guided by Allah to take the straight path. They are officially recognized by the Lebanese scouting federation.

¹⁵² Ibid., 2. The scouts publish a calendar that is distributed throughout the country that details their activities, special events and espouses Hezbollah and Iranian revolutionary doctrine.

The education branch is a critical component of Hezbollah's organization. The importance of education is reflected in the \$14 million spent on scholarships and financial aid during the years of 1996-2001.¹⁵³ The program has been successful in educating thousands of poor Shia throughout Lebanon and has successfully marginalized the Lebanese Department of Education.¹⁵⁴ With the help of the IRGC, Hezbollah has developed a curriculum and supporting materials that ranges from kindergarten through college level that indoctrinates the next generation of fighters.¹⁵⁵ The tuition costs are either reduced or covered by Hezbollah's education branch.¹⁵⁶ This ensures a steady flow of recruits into Hezbollah's ranks. The education branch coordinates school construction and administers education from the pre-school

¹⁵³ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196. , 55.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 57.

¹⁵⁵ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), *Hezbollah's Shiite Youth Movement, "the Imam Al-Mahdi Scouts"*, 6.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 7.

to vocational level. This includes staffing the schools, developing and implementing a Shura approved curriculum and publishing costs.¹⁵⁷

The effectiveness of the social services is difficult to measure. There two aspects that must be considered when evaluating the effectiveness of the social service effort: the level of relief or benefit to the target population and the political gain from the service. Hezbollah and Amal both claim to be non-partisan and non-sectarian when allocating social service resources but there is a clear political or strategic reason for targeting areas and populations.¹⁵⁸ For example, Jihad al-Binaa developed an agriculture project in the Bekaa which emphasized that farming was a religious duty that met the needs of the Muslim people.¹⁵⁹ To influence future

¹⁵⁷ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), *Hezbollah: Profile of Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Reach Sponsored by Iran and Supported by Syria (Parts I and II)*, 137.

¹⁵⁸ Chehabi, Abisaab, and Centre for Lebanese Studies (Great Britain), *Distant Relations : Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, 322. , 281-282.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 282.

generations and build communal attachments, schools are built in predominantly Shia areas that only teach Hezbollah approved curriculums.¹⁶⁰ The political advantages of having social services are reflected in the success Hezbollah has experienced in the Parliamentary elections. The majority of the Hezbollah's campaign platform for the parliamentary and municipal elections centered on social services like health care, youth services, infrastructure improvement and education.¹⁶¹ Foreign policy was not the emphasis for the candidates.¹⁶² This proves that Hezbollah's social service focused approach is working, the success of the social service section shores up the campaign promises and the people reciprocate through political support. Hezbollah now holds nine parliamentary seats and expects that number to increase every election until they

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.,282-283.

¹⁶¹ Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology : Religious Ideology, Political Ideology and Political Program*, 357. , 247-277.

¹⁶² Ibid., 247-277. The campaign platform addresses foreign policy but it was restricted to themes that affirmed Hezbollah's resolve to continue the resistance and fight all the enemies of Islam.

achieve a majority. Hezbollah's approach to social service and political influence are defined in the Quran, "Those who, if we establish them firmly in the land, will perform the prayer, give the alms, command the good and prohibit evil. To Allah belongs the outcome of all affairs."¹⁶³

The effect infrastructure and other social services have on the target population is difficult to quantify. The increased political influence within the Lebanese government and the performance of the military during the 2006 War are the only events that can be attributed to the contribution of the social programs. The populace understands that Hezbollah is politically motivated; one Lebanese Christian woman said: "Everyone knows the work is politically motivated but it also shows what faith can do."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Ibid., 247. Quran verse 22:41.

¹⁶⁴ Harik, *Hezbollah : The Changing Face of Terrorism*, 241. , 89.

The measures of performance are easier to assess.¹⁶⁵ Exact numbers of projects, dollars spent and effects the projects have had on the target areas has proven difficult to obtain. The benchmark, however, is fairly easy to assess. The Lebanese Government has done little to improve the infrastructure in the three Shia areas since the formation of the Lebanese government in the early 1900s.¹⁶⁶ Any improvement made by Musa al-Sadr and later the social service section of Hezbollah is a marked increase from past attempts. Despite the lack of exact figures, the large scope of the programs and the significant investment Hezbollah and Iran have placed in the programs speaks volumes about the importance and effectiveness of social services. Between 1988 and 2002, the Jihad al-Binaa built or renovated thirty five schools, nine thousand homes,

¹⁶⁵ Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-0 (Joint Operations)*, 2006), 238.. Measures of performance are defined in JP-3-0 Joint Operations as a criterion to assess changes in system behavior, capability, or operational environment that is tied to measuring the attainment of an end state, achievement of an objective, or creation of an effect.

¹⁶⁶ The historical context chapter reveals a constant trend of neglect and oppression in the Shia dominated areas within Beirut, southern Lebanon and the Bekaa valley.

eight hundred shops, five hospitals, eight clinics, one hundred mosques, eight cultural centers and seven agricultural center cooperatives.¹⁶⁷ The education unit dispersed over fourteen million dollars in scholarships between 1996 and 2001.¹⁶⁸ The health care unit provides care to roughly half a million people annually for free or reduced rates.¹⁶⁹ Though the measures of performance are dated, they are impressive and provide insight into the level of commitment from Iran and Hezbollah.

Funding the Social Services Section

Hezbollah's enormous social service effort has consistently outperformed the Lebanese government's social programs. While effective, maintaining the social service section is very expensive. It is estimated that social services accounts for 50% of Hezbollah's annual budget.

¹⁶⁷ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196. , 50-51.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 55.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 54.

Though Iran openly funds the majority of Hezbollah's military, political and social activities, Hezbollah's chief benefactor does not provide enough funding to maintain the expensive social system and provide weapons and training to the military section. Iran is believed to contribute hundreds of millions of dollars annually to support Hezbollah's social service section.¹⁷⁰ Hezbollah receives funding from a variety of internal and external sources to supplement Iran's funding and to have contingency funding sources in place in the event that Iran decides to or is unable to fund Hezbollah at the current levels. The following chapter will examine Hezbollah's funding sources, methods for transferring money and how the funds are distributed within the organization.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 63. Hezbollah's funding will never be completely cut off. Hezbollah's funding from Iran does not require approval from the standing Iranian President or the Iranian government. The Ayatollah provides the majority of funds through the myriad of Islamic charities, funds raised by the IRGC and Iran's intelligence services; all of which he controls. The funds are not part of the Iranian budget and are never seen by the Iranian finance unit.

Funding Sources

Funding a comprehensive social service program is expensive and a never ending endeavor. The danger for Hezbollah is that the bar has been raised high enough that if they fail to provide a consistent level of service, they risk losing popular support. Without funding, Hezbollah would be an ideology and not a threat. Historically, terrorist organizations are forced to use illicit or covert channels to raise and transfer funds which make the process both complicated and risky. However, Hezbollah has been able to make money by developing and exploiting any profitable endeavor, internal to Lebanon or globally. Hezbollah is able to make enough money to match Iranian and Syrian funding.

Hezbollah's ability to make money is a characteristic that is tied to Lebanese culture and religion. Culturally, Lebanese are descendants of the Phoenicians who were successful maritime

traders that lived along the Lebanese coast and were known for their business savvy.¹⁷¹ Hezbollah has extensive legitimate businesses in Lebanon and internationally.¹⁷² There is no evidence that suggests that legality was an issue in regards to where the profits were earned. Drugs, human trafficking, smuggling, mafia style shakedowns or other illegal activity were accepted or justified in the name of profit. Hezbollah relies on four primary sources of funding: Iran, the expatriate population, illegal activity, zakat and charity organizations.

The Lebanese expatriate population has proven to be Hezbollah's biggest funding source outside of Iran.¹⁷³ For example, a plane leaving Cotonou, Benin en route to Beirut crashed killing a representative of the African branch of Lebanese Hezbollah who was carrying an estimated \$2

¹⁷¹ The port cities of Lebanon were important trade/logistics hubs between Africa, the Middle East and Europe.

¹⁷² Ibid.,64. Hezbollah takes full advantage of Lebanon's free market economy and has built a network of gas stations, super markets, department stores, construction companies, restaurants and travel agencies.

¹⁷³ Iran is the primary benefactor of Hezbollah. The level of financial support is still open for debate. Research has discovered figures that vary between \$300 million and \$1 billion annually.

million, which was considered to be a regular contribution from expatriates living in western Africa.¹⁷⁴ The expatriate population is estimated to outnumber the population in Lebanon which logically leads to increased earning potential.¹⁷⁵ The largest expatriate communities are in West Africa, the South American tri-border area (TBA: Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina), Europe and the United States.¹⁷⁶ At first look, the amount of money being transferred into Lebanon seems quite large, but in reality it's impossible to determine how much money goes to Hezbollah and how much money goes to Lebanese expat families. Money that goes into Lebanon does not equate to financial support to Hezbollah.

¹⁷⁴ Matthew A. Levitt, "Hizballah's African Activities Remain Undisrupted," *RUSI, Jane's Homeland Security and Resilience Monitor* (2004),2. The Arab Press reported that "a foreign relations official of the African branch of the Lebanese Hezbollah party and two of his aids" were killed in the crash.

¹⁷⁵ The global exodus of the Lebanese population occurred during the Civil War creating a massive expat population and reduced the skilled labor force.

¹⁷⁶ Rachel Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil : How Terrorism is Financed-- and how to Stop it*, Expanded ed. (Chicago: Bonus Books, 2005), 296. , 133-134.

Criminal activity comprises another major source of income for Hezbollah. Though the primary illegal activities include drug trafficking, copyright infringement and global smuggling syndicates. Hezbollah will engage in any endeavor that turns a profit; everything from interstate cigarette smuggling to stealing and reselling baby formula.¹⁷⁷

South America has proven to be a lucrative region for Hezbollah. The TBA presents a unique business opportunity for Hezbollah in that the region is densely populated, is a designated free trade area, has access to ports (Puerto Iguazu, Argentina), hidden airstrips and has a minimal law enforcement presence.¹⁷⁸ Ciudad del Este, Paraguay is a state created black market/free trade

¹⁷⁷ Lindsey Shull, *Terrorist Finance for Bankers* (Kansas City, Missouri: United States Attorneys Office, 2008)

¹⁷⁸ Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses : A Comparative Perspective* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2007), 365. , 146. The logistics structure provides for all forms of transportation. There are an estimated 100 hidden airstrips, the Pan-American Highway and access to open water through the Argentine port city of Puerto Iguazu.

area that is a center of criminal activity for the TBA.¹⁷⁹ The Lebanese population has a distinct advantage over the competition in the area in that they are religiously and culturally the same which creates a natural network making them ultra-efficient in passing information and moving commodities.¹⁸⁰ In 2001, the Palestinian/Lebanese population was estimated at 23,000 people.¹⁸¹ Hezbollah's activities include drug trafficking, money laundering, copyright infringement, human trafficking and smuggling. Hezbollah's activities are not limited to the TBA. They reportedly have opened shell companies in the free trade areas throughout South America to include

¹⁷⁹ "A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups," in Ft. Belvoir; Defense Technical Information Center [database online]. Available from <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA439621>; <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA439621>, 16. The city is located about 330km from Paraguay's capital, Asuncion. The population ranges from 170,000 to 250,000.

¹⁸⁰ John Arquilla et al., *Networks and Netwars : The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2001), 375. , 65. Networks are the most common form of social organization and are usually embedded within a hierarchical structure.

¹⁸¹ Berry et al., *A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups*, 148. , 14.

Columbia and Chile.¹⁸² Hezbollah supporters have been connected with drug trafficking in Venezuela, Columbia and Uruguay.¹⁸³ Estimated annual profits from this region are estimated to be \$200-\$500 million.¹⁸⁴ Despite Hezbollah's global involvement in the drug trade, there appears to be no activity within Lebanon.¹⁸⁵

West Africa is similar to the TBA in that it has large tracks of ungovernable land, political instability, high level of corruption and minimal law enforcement. Supported by the

¹⁸² Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses : A Comparative Perspective*, 365. , 146.

¹⁸³ Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil : How Terrorism is Financed-- and how to Stop it*, 296. , 151. In 2001, Uruguayan Police seized 200 kilos of cocaine that was linked to the Arab Mafia. The Columbian free-trade zone, Maicao, is said to be dominated by the Shiite community and is the primary money launderer for traffickers.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 147.

¹⁸⁵ Berry et al., *A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups*, 148. , 78. Farmers in the Bekaa valley had traditionally grown cannabis and turned into hashish for local sale and consumption. Due to a Syrian anti-drug campaign and Hezbollah does not encourage producing drugs. Drugs are imported into Lebanon from the Latin-American route and the Far East route.

large expatriate population in the region, Hezbollah is believed to have raised millions of dollars through the sale and export of illicit or conflict diamonds.¹⁸⁶ Their activity has centered in Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Congo.

Zakat generates large sums of money from the internal and expatriate populations. Hezbollah supporters are predominately Shia and are duty bound to donate 2.5% of their net worth to charity in support of the Zakat pillar of Islam. As defined in the Quran, those eligible to receive Zakat must fall into one of eight categories: “Alms are for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to the truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer: (thus

¹⁸⁶ Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses : A Comparative Perspective*, 365. ,147. Belgian intelligence reports tie the illicit diamond trade to Hezbollah and Amal. Al Qaeda was believed to have copied this technique to raise funds.

is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom.”¹⁸⁷ The Zakat guidance is quite broad; alms can be given to whomever or whatever organization the donor sees as worthy. A fatwa or Islamic edict issued by the late Ayatollah Khomeini that legitimizes the use of Zakat funds to finance the resistance movement against Israel.¹⁸⁸ Khomeini’s fatwa was embraced by the Sunnis as well. The radical Saudi cleric, Salman bin Fahd al-Oadah took this a step further and declared the existence of the financial or economic jihad which means spending or donating money for the fighters of the jihad. He supports this declaration within Surah 9:41, “Fight your enemies, the infidels, with your possessions and your souls in the way of Allah.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Ali and Riasat Idarat al-Buhuth al-'Ilmiyah wa-al-Ifta wa-al-Da'wah wa-al-Irshad (Saudi Arabia), *The Holy Qur-an : English Translation of the Meanings, and Commentary*, 2082. , Taubah 60

¹⁸⁸ Munif Al-Safouqi, "Islamic Charity and Terrorism (Article Translated from the Al-Sharq Al-Awsat Newspaper by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center; Tel Aviv, Israel)," (2005), 7.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 8.

Charity organizations have distributed millions of dollars to Hezbollah and provide a level of legitimacy and concealment to their activities. Many of the organizations were created with the intent of supporting Hezbollah but others have been hijacked and deceive donors as to the true intention of the charity organizations.¹⁹⁰ The advantages of using a charity organization are that they can be created to mirror any cause that influences donors and be quickly dissolved if detected. This has become a common practice but has been less effective due to increased law enforcement capabilities and cooperation between countries.¹⁹¹

There are several organizations that are internationally known to provide support to Hezbollah. In the United States, funds are raised through the Islamic Resistance Support

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 3.

¹⁹¹ Mary B. Erlande et al., *Terrorist Financing* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2006), 13-14. The Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN) was created in 1990 to collect and analyze financial data. It provides a government-wide, multi-source intelligence network that collects Suspicious Activity Reports (SAR) and Currency Transaction Reports (CTR) from financial institutions and analyzes the data to determine trends of illegal activity. FinCEN does not have investigative or arrest authority.

Organization, the Alavi Foundation, the Educational Support Organization , the Goodwill Charitable Organization and the al-Shahid Association (Martyr's Association).¹⁹² Hezbollah raises funds in Europe through the Lebanese Welfare Committee, the HELP Foundation and the Jamaya al-Abraar.¹⁹³ Hezbollah receives support from organizations like the People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PGAD) and the Karballah Foundation for Liberation.¹⁹⁴ Some funding from these organizations reportedly does go to support Lebanese social service charities. Though noble, donations to Hezbollah's social service section support the critical part of the organization on that is directly responsible for the success of the organization.

¹⁹² Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil : How Terrorism is Financed-- and how to Stop it*, 296. , 134-135.
This is not an all-inclusive list of organizations.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 134.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 134.

Moving Money

Moving money safely and undetected from the source to Hezbollah accounts is critical. There are three primary methods Hezbollah uses to transfer funds: Islamic banking, the informal value transfer system or hawala, and money laundering. The popularity of Islamic Banking works in Hezbollah's favor.¹⁹⁵ Islamic Banking is unique in that it offers terrorists a relatively safe method for raising and moving money.¹⁹⁶ The main difference between Islamic and western banks is the prohibition of interest (riba) and the prohibition of trading in risk or speculation (gharar).¹⁹⁷ Instead of banks making money from interest charges to customers they enter into a

¹⁹⁵ Patrick Sookheo, "Islamic Finance," *Institute for the Study of Islam and Christianity* (2007), 1-2, 36. Islamic banking is part of the Islamist resurgence and critical part of Islamist's agenda. Islamic banking was the creation of the Islamist movements. Their goals are Islamic domination of the world through the gradual replacement of western systems with Islamic based systems.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁹⁷ Mahmoud A. El-Gamal, *Islamic Finance : Law, Economics, and Practice* (Cambridge UK] ;; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 221. , 49 and 59. Gharar incorporates uncertainty

partnership and share profits as opposed to exploiting the misfortunes of others.¹⁹⁸ Islamic money must be backed up by physical assets like real estate, leasing and commodity trading.¹⁹⁹ Also, Islamic banks automatically deduct the zakat from account holders. All zakat transactions, by Sharia Banking law, are not recorded and therefore untraceable; the records are destroyed after the transaction.²⁰⁰ The Islamic banking zakat process makes moving money to terrorist organizations legal and untraceable.²⁰¹ There is no assurance that zakat funds are being used for

regarding future events and qualities of goods which may be a result of incomplete information or deception.

¹⁹⁸ Mohammed Akacem and Lynde Gilliam, "Principles of Islamic Banking: Debt Versus Equity Financing," *Middle East Policy* 9, no. 1 (03 2002): 124. , 125.

¹⁹⁹ Moin A. Siddiqi, "Banking on Sharia Principles," *Middle East* , no. 325 (2002): 34. , 35. Investments cannot be made in activities related to alcohol, pork, tobacco, pornography, gambling, defence/armaments, conventional banking and insurance.

²⁰⁰ Loretta Napoleoni, Loretta Napoleoni, and Modern Jihad, *Terror Incorporated : Tracing the Dollars Behind the Terror Networks*, 1st U.S.d ed. (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005), 324. , 124.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 125. The 6,000 members of the Saudi family are worth \$600 billion which results in an annual zakat of \$12 billion.

a legitimate charity. Some of the larger Islamic Banks are located in Switzerland, which makes transparency more difficult.²⁰²

The informal value transfer (IFT) system or Hawala originated in southern Asia in the 11th century as a way to transfer debt to facilitate long distance trade.²⁰³ The practice is still used globally as quick, secure and anonymous way to move money.²⁰⁴ Today, the process is conducted by email or cell phone with a Hawaladar contacting another Hawaladar and

²⁰² DCSINT- Emerging Threats Team, *Terrorism Funding: Sources and Methods (UNCLASSIFIED)* (Fort Monroe, Virginia: DCSINT, 2004), 5.

²⁰³ Roger Ballard Ph.d., *A Background Report in the Operation of Informal Value Transfer System (Hawala)* (United Kingdom:, 2003). , 7. The system was used to mitigate the risk of trans-oceanic trade by removing the shipment of gold. The system is based on trust and Islamic law.

²⁰⁴ Napoleon, Napoleon, and Modern Jihad, *Terror Incorporated : Tracing the Dollars Behind the Terror Networks*, 324. , 128. There are several advantages to using hawala: operates 24/7, no delay in transfer of funds, no excess bank charges, now outside audits, evades currency control restrictions, evades taxes, no paperwork and legal in most countries.

exchanging information about the transfer (amount and recipient).²⁰⁵ There are no formal transfer limits but the hawala system is usually used for smaller transactions.²⁰⁶ The amount of money that is passed by Hawala is estimated to be in the hundreds of billions annually.²⁰⁷

Laundering money gives Hezbollah a way to move large amounts undetected and a way to make money by providing the same service to other criminal organizations. Hezbollah supporters often create shell companies, multiple global accounts, and leverage or create non-governmental organizations (NGO) or other charitable organizations to move and launder money. To elude detection, these entities can come together for a single purpose, can be renamed or dissolved. There are reports that Hezbollah supporters have opened legitimate Western Union

²⁰⁵ Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses : A Comparative Perspective*, 365. , 29.

²⁰⁶ DCSINT- Emerging Threats Team, *Terrorism Funding: Sources and Methods (UNCLASSIFIED)*, 6.

²⁰⁷ Ballard, *A Background Report in the Operation of Informal Value Transfer System (Hawala)*, 36. , 8.

offices in Lebanon and in the Far East and are used to launder and transfer funds for the organization.²⁰⁸

After the events of September 11, 2001, the United States and Allies in the Global War on Terror began to scrutinize banking institutions and sources of terror funding. To avoid scrutiny and avoid the risk of having the organization's assets frozen, they channeled the majority of their funds through Iran's Saderat Bank in Tehran.²⁰⁹ This is a safe and convenient relationship for Hezbollah and Iran in that both parties can maintain secrecy and money can be deposited and withdrawn without interference.

²⁰⁸ Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses : A Comparative Perspective*, 365. ,148.

²⁰⁹ Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, 196. ,65.

Distribution of Funds

Hezbollah's funding is distributed throughout the organization by the finance unit with strict guidance from the Shura council. The finance unit does not have complete control of the collection and budgetary allocations of funds.²¹⁰ The Shura council maintains control of the entire process. The social services section resembles a business like structure in that funds are requested from the bottom up and are reviewed by an approving authority. For instance, Jihad al-Binaa will submit a budget request that includes costs of current projects and a list of proposed projects. The requests are consolidated and submitted to the finance unit for approval and allocation. Important projects are given instant approval through the Shura or will fall out of the purview of the finance unit and be directed by the Shura.

²¹⁰ Ibid.,63.

Hezbollah Social Services and Civil Military Operations

Hezbollah's use of its social services section bears a resemblance to the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) Civil Military Operations concept. By comparing the two concepts properties will emerge that can be useful in understanding the successes and challenges of both systems. The DOD uses the term Civil Military Operations (CMO) to define similar activities that involve interaction between the military and civilian populace. CMO is a term that is loosely used to describe any interaction with the populace and the military. A more accurate definition can be found in U.S. Military's Joint Publication 3-57 (Joint Doctrine for Civil Military Operations:

The activities of a commander that establish, maintain, influence, or exploit relations between military forces, governmental and nongovernmental civilian organizations and authorities, and the civilian populace. Civil-military operations (CMO) can occur in friendly, neutral, or hostile operational areas to facilitate military operations and achieve US objectives. CMO may include performance by military forces of activities and functions which are normally the responsibility of local, regional, or national government. These activities may occur prior to, during, or subsequent to other military actions. They may also

occur, if directed, in the absence of other military operations. CMO may be performed by designated civil affairs (CA), by other military forces, or by a combination of CA and other forces.²¹¹

Within existing United States military doctrine, the joint definition provides the most comprehensive description of what CMO encompasses and how the commanders should utilize these assets. The concept of CMO is not as clearly defined in Hezbollah's doctrine or by other Islamic scholars²¹².

While the two approaches are similar there are three striking differences that prevent them from being used in the same manner. First, it can be argued that the idea of social service or charity is a binding act or duty within the Zakat pillar of Islam which requires Muslims to give

²¹¹ Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-57 (Joint Civil Military Operations)*, 2008), 187. , I-3.

²¹² Ruth Katz, *The Hezbollah Doctrine* (Waltham: Mass, 2006)

2.5% of their net worth to charity annually.²¹³ CMO is not a spiritual mandate and cannot require participants to contribute to the effort physically or financially. CMO efforts are mandated by national interests only. Second, Hezbollah is in a unique position in that it acts as a social service section within a legitimate governmental structure but operates as an equal branch within a quasi-terrorist organization that has a direct chain of command. Their position gives them complete operational freedom, allowing them to provide immediate assistance and disperse funds, often in cash, without delay. CMO is embedded within a self-checking bureaucratic organization that by nature is divided to prevent any one body from becoming too powerful.²¹⁴ This translates to slow response times during crisis which prevents DOD civil affairs teams and field teams from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) from providing immediate

²¹³ Burr and Collins, *Alms for Jihad : Charity and Terrorism in the Islamic World*, 348. ,1. The guidance in the Quran that governs who receives the Zakat are broad and based on individual perception of what is a worthy cause.

²¹⁴ Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Bantam, 1982), 483. , 261. Federalist 51.

relief. In the time of crisis the “first with the most” is often the winner of the hearts and minds.²¹⁵ Lastly, Hezbollah’s social service section is integrated into Lebanese society. The Lebanese Shia view Hezbollah’s services as an essential part of everyday life. Hezbollah has gained and continues to maintain contact with the population. Through consistent action and time, Hezbollah has earned the trust and loyalty of the Lebanese Shia. CMO are traditionally conducted in response to a crisis, during a conflict and are short term in nature. CMO operators are usually foreign to the target areas and don’t have the cultural depth needed to gain the acceptance that Hezbollah enjoys. CMO missions are either short term engagements that aren’t conducive to establishing rapport or long term missions with high personnel turnover. This prevents CMO operators from establishing working relationships with the populace and other agencies. This ultimately reduces the effectiveness of any CMO effort.

²¹⁵ The phrase, “firstest with the mostest” was coined by the Civil War General Nathan Bedford Forrest.

Recommendations

Replicating Hezbollah's successful social service system would be futile given the unique conditions in which they operate, but there are aspects of the operation that can be replicated to improve the effectiveness of the DOD CMO effort.

Global social service, charitable or civil military efforts need to be examined with a cross cultural lens and with the same rigor as combat operations. The importance of CMO concepts and winning the support of the populace is understood throughout the DOD but is seldom examined through a cultural lens.²¹⁶ There's a tendency among commanders and planners to place the cultural facts in a western construct to make the information more palatable or understandable. This may make the information metaphorically understandable but the context is

²¹⁶ William D. Wunderle, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and Combat Studies Institute, *Through the Lens of Cultural Awareness : A Primer for US Armed Forces Deploying to Arab and Middle Eastern Countries* (Fort Leavenworth, KS; Washington, DC: Combat Studies Institute Press; For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O, 2006), 136. , 3.

often lost. For example, the terms Zakat and “social service” are similar but not equal do to context. Commanders and planners must develop a systemic cultural understanding of the situation before taking action or developing courses of action. In a COIN environment, denying the insurgents popular support is the main effort. Considerable attention is paid to combat operations and planning reactive or short term CMO strategy but little attention is given to analyzing other CMO or Zakat efforts that may run counter to DOD strategies. Analyzing the motivations, funding and the sources of power will give decision makers insight into mitigating the enemies CMO efforts and/or improving existing strategies.

Hezbollah appears to have the ability to codify military and civil information into a common operating picture. It is critical that both enemy and friendly information is combined and analyzed with the same vigor. Civil information is often compartmentalized and seldom integrated with enemy information. By excluding civil information and analysis, the commander is limited to a partial understanding of the area of operations. The fusion of lethal and non-lethal information can provide cultural insights to the planning process, provide targeting information (for both lethal and non-lethal) and assist the commander in determining what assets should be used to engage an area.

The current Civil Military Operations construct cannot compete with Hezbollah in terms of providing immediate impact during crisis, readily accessible and flexible resources and area expertise. However, there are two aspects of Hezbollah’s organization that can be emulated to improve DOD CMO efforts. First, DOD’s ability to respond to humanitarian disasters can be improved through a streamlined funding process. This is applicable to all levels. The ability to provide immediate impact relief is critical during a disaster or COIN operations. Currently, funding resources for CMO, crisis response, and humanitarian assistance are divided into a myriad of different funds that require specific criteria, different accountability procedures and commitment regulations that govern the use of the funds. This disjointed and overly complicated system of funding slows the process and prevents the DOD from competing with organizations,

like Hezbollah, that are not shackled by complex funding regulations. Checks and balances for funding will always be a planning factor but they can be mitigated through a streamlined pre-approval and distribution process that enables commanders to have quick access to funds and still maintain accountability. The Commander's Emergency Response Fund (CERP) was developed in Afghanistan and later implemented in Iraq for this purpose and has proven to be an asset. The program allows commanders to initiate immediate impact projects, reparations or condolence payments without undergoing an approval process. Currently, the program is limited to the OEF and OIF theaters and has not gained global usage. A CERP-like program should be developed to support global operations. Another option is to ensure that funding is pre-planned prior to deployment or as a contingency for any operation.

Hezbollah maintains a consistent strategic message and uses the social service section to reinforce that message with action. Commanders must emulate this technique. In order to

achieve unity of effort and maintain a consistent message, CMO must be included in the planning process at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. This requires a unified strategic vision that is understandable and realistic, adequate resource allocation and a consistent presence that facilitates rapport building.

Conclusion

Hezbollah's success has not gone unnoticed by the global jihadist/insurgent community. Hezbollah has proven to be adaptive and flexible in their strategy but have maintained a consistent strategic view. Though Hezbollah is apparently not attempting to export the Islamic revolution, the organization has inspired Islamic minded groups like Turkish Hezbollah, who

have adopted the name but have no affiliation with Lebanese Hezbollah.²¹⁷ Turkish Hezbollah is predominantly Kurdish and is fighting to establish an Islamic government within Turkey.²¹⁸

The Lebanese expatriate population exceeds the actual number living in Lebanon. The mass exodus of Lebanese was attributed the volatile years of the civil wars and unemployment. Most expats moved to Africa, Latin America, Europe and the United States. It's a common misconception that all expats support Hezbollah. However, there are Hezbollah cells in Africa, Latin America, North America, Europe and Asia. Most are believed to be focused on fund raising for the organization, increasing personal wealth or to support families in Lebanon, but

²¹⁷ Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, "Turkish Hezbollah," (2008), 2. Many groups will adopt the name Hezbollah as an honorific title.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 2.

others, like the cell in Argentina that attacked the Israeli embassy, are designed to conduct terrorist attacks against U.S. and Israeli interests abroad.²¹⁹

Fledgling Hezbollah cells use the same methods used in Lebanon: they use subtle infiltration techniques to gain access to an area without drawing attention, they gain the trust of the populace by conducting charity fund raising activities, establishing trust enables them to recruit within the local populace and then allowing the cell to begin operations.²²⁰ Cells would not be able to operate without building a popular support base.

Hezbollah's social service heavy model has proven to be successful in advancing the party's political/military goals and Iran's strategic objectives. Hezbollah established a solid

²¹⁹ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), "Following an Appeal from the Argentinean Attorney General, Interpol Issued International Extradition Warrants for Five Senior Iranians and One Senior Hezbollah Operative." (2007), 2. Hezbollah has been banned in the U.S., Canada, Australia and most recently in Europe.

²²⁰ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), "Hezbollah: A Case Study in Global Reach," (2003), 4-5.

popular support base by leveraging the needs, injustices and religion of the Lebanese Shia. The popular support base enabled the organization to transform from its social service dominated roots to an influential political party supported by a professional guerilla army. Hezbollah's popular support is increasing and the Lebanese government continues to fail to meet the needs of the numerically superior Shia population. Hezbollah will continue to gain influence through the political process and eventually dominate the Lebanese politics. Hezbollah was created in the image of the Iranian Islamic revolution and has inculcated Iranian Islamist ideology that calls for the destruction of Israel and exporting the revolution globally.²²¹ Iran's strategic goal of establishing the Islamic State of Lebanon appears to be achievable through an expensive but effective use of social services.

²²¹ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC), *Hezbollah as the Strategic Arm of Iran*,11.

It can be argued that the Hezbollah model cannot be exported due to the unique circumstances that the organization was created and cannot be replicated. However, the basic tenants of the model are universal and are reflected in modern insurgency theorists like Mao Tse-Tung, Che Guevara and David Galula. They all follow a similar pattern that weighs the support of the populace the highest followed by guerrilla warfare and ending in political revolution. The danger is that the Hezbollah model is Islamic, proven and exportable.

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